

# CHRISTIAN STATESMAN

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## *A Message to the Rulers of the World*



UMANITY is staggered by the possibilities of another world war. Homes in every land \* \* \* have already given millions of their sons in the belief that their supreme sacrifice would \* \* \* create a high idealism which would make the world a fairer place in which to live and end war for all time.

None of these hopes has been realized. Nations have been guilty of promoting selfish and ignoble loyalties.

Efforts have been made to avert the disaster which is inevitable if present tendencies continue.

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The time has come to try Christianity. It has never failed in any field when given a fair chance. And civilization is entitled to every opportunity to free itself from its present predicament. There is an inescapable obligation on the part of every nation to make its contribution to consummate this desired end, even at great sacrifice to itself.

The nations of the world must depart from selfish individualism and inhuman isolation. They should unite in creating new standards which are based upon the teachings of Jesus. He must be acknowledged as the Supreme Arbiter in every national and international difficulty. Loyalty to Him should be the chief desire of the nations.

It should be recognized that nations are accountable to the same Christian principles as those which pertain to all Christian men and women as individuals. There

is no double standard of morality and ethics—one for men and another for nations. There is only one morality, one honor, one righteousness.

We believe that the State belongs to God and that He is the ultimate source of all civil and political authority.

We believe that the divine right of sovereignty and civil authority is vested in the nation, and that the nation is an intelligent moral entity which God holds responsible for the use of the sovereignty and authority which He has vested in it.

We believe that God's judgments can be averted only by national repentance for sin and by national obedience to the laws of love and brotherhood and fair play, as taught by Jesus, and that such obedience will bring peace to the world, and a restoration of prosperity and happiness to all the peoples.

We further believe that civil rulers are his ministers as certainly as are the rulers of the Church, and that these rulers are directly and immediately responsible to Him for their official conduct.

It is because nations and rulers have held themselves above all moral law, becoming a law unto themselves, as far as their civil lives are concerned, that present day world conditions have become so chaotic.

We, therefore, unite in asking the rulers of \* \* \* the world to join in setting up the kingdom of God on earth, acknowledging Jesus Christ Lord of lords and King of kings, so that justice and happiness and brotherhood and peace may prevail throughout the whole earth.

Message adopted at the Winona Lake Christian Citizenship Conference of the National Reform Association, which was attended by 2,000 persons. The message was cabled or mailed to 80 world rulers.

PEACE NUMBER

# The World Turns Against War

By FREDERICK J. LIBBY, Executive Secretary,  
National Council for Prevention of War

**T**HE flight of a Zeppelin across the Atlantic is a great event. Our age is full of miracles. Man is conquering the material universe with amazing rapidity. But more momentous still is the progress that is being made before our eyes in man's spiritual conquests. Human relations are beginning to be considered in universal terms—exactly as the Sermon on the Mount revealed them two thousand years ago.

Many roads are leading us towards one point—the renunciation of war. War has been proven futile. No sooner had Germany been conquered than the Allies found it necessary to set to work to restore Germany to its former prosperity. A good market was more important than a dangerous competitor. Wars cannot be won any longer. It is difficult today to tell who won the last war. France is still afraid of Germany. A million five hundred thousand men are out of work in England. This is not victory.

War has become incredibly destructive. Airplanes and poison gas can exterminate whole populations. Mr. Hoover wrote recently that "civilization cannot stand such a shock again."

For centuries the organization of mankind has been extending itself over larger and larger areas until now we have only 64 units to bring under the reign of law and the process will be complete. The perfection of the radio and the development of rapid transportation by land, sea and air are forces of unification of enormous consequence. The development of commerce has made worldwide markets essential to prosperity. Travel is becoming possible for hundreds of thousands of people. The moving picture is making the most remote regions known universally. A new conscience on war is developing. Just as private murder has been delegalized and civil war has come under the ban, so international war is in a fair way now to be outlawed. In so small a world any war now is civil war and injurious to everybody.

The Kellogg Pact, or as it is now officially called by our State Department, the General Pact for the Renunciation of War, has been launched at the psychological mo-

ment therefore in human history. It is in two simple articles:

Article I.—The High Contracting

Parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another.

Article II.—The High Contracting

Parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means.

There are three kinds of war: wars of self defense, preventive wars, and wars of national policy. Wars of self defense are wars in which a nation is invaded and defends itself. Preventive wars are wars in which a nation is the aggressor for fear of being attacked at some future time. Wars of national policy are wars due to a nation's wanting something that another nation has and going and taking it. Our war of 1845 with Mexico would be generally classed as a war of national policy. All of the Great Powers have been guilty of this type of war and it is this that we all are renouncing together.

How does Secretary Kellogg have faith to believe that it can be done? Judge Taft many years ago pointed to the answer to this question. It is to be found in the practices of our 48 States.

We who are accustomed to the phenomenon hardly realize what a lesson to the world is to be found in the way our 48 States settle their differences. The corn belt may be "up in arms" but it never goes to war. Arizona may be full of "two-gun men" but will accept the decision of Congress on the Boulder Canyon Dam Bill without getting out either machine guns or poison gas. When our States have had their day in court, whether the court be the Supreme Court or the Halls of Congress, that settles the question. Probably we have as serious clashes of interest between our States as exist between France and Germany but without war.

Moreover the experience of 1861-65 will not be repeated. No injustice

that Iowa can suffer, or Arizona, would compare with the injustice of another civil war.

Mr. Kellogg is saying in substance to the 64 nations: We like our system. Although many of our States are bigger than whole nations in other parts of the world, their resources are not sapped in order to maintain armed soldiers on their borders. Hence come prosperity, security, and continued goodwill. What works for us so well will work universally. If 48 States can settle their disputes without war 64 nations can. No injustice that Austria can suffer or Hungary or Italy or Germany can compare with the injustice of another world war.

All but 7 of the 64 nations have indicated their purpose of ratifying the Kellogg Pact. Six of the 7 are Latin American States including the "A B C" powers, Argentina, Brazil and Chile. These great nations are merely waiting until they know whether our Senate is going to try to strengthen the hold of our Monroe Doctrine over them in the hated form in which it has been exemplified in Nicaragua. They want war outlawed but they do not want us to feel free to invade their sovereignty under any pretext.

Of course so great a reform in human relations cannot be expected to come without opposition. Our imperialists, like the Chicago Tribune, believing that it is our "destiny" to conquer Mexico and Central America at least, will oppose the outlawry of the only means of conquest, war.

Isolationists will protest against our coming with the rest of the world under the reign of law. Militarists will recognize that the Kellogg Pact is inconsistent with steadily increasing armaments and will soon lead to the reduction of armaments by international agreement. Therefore their opposition to the ratification of the Pact has already started.

Practically the issues before the Senate this winter are to be first, whether the Senate shall ratify the Pact promptly and without reservations, and secondly, whether it shall at the same time pass the 16-ship Navy Bill, which would neutralize the spirit of the Pact.

The Anglo-French Accord, now defunct, has been universally con-

(Continued on page 5, col. 3)

# The War System Is Doomed

By REV. FREDERICK W. NORWOOD, D.D.,  
Pastor of the City Temple, London.

**T**HREE is one great reason why the war system remains still to plague us. It is that men have not sufficient faith to believe that it can be banished. If once the masses of men could believe that they can do what they all want to do, they would be surprised at the ease with which it could be done.

But appearances deceive them. The war system is so old that it seems as if it must remain with us forever. It is so richly financed that it spreads itself like a vast monopoly. It covers so many nations in differing states of culture that confusion seems to reign supreme.

The average man does not see that it is so old that it is rotten, that it costs so much money because it is unhealthy, and that amidst the confusion of nations the one common feature is that all men distrust it.

Consider these three points. War is old—as old as man—but what we mean by war is a very modern thing. It has always been easier to shoot men than to reconcile their competing claims. When Harold the Saxon had fallen, William of Normandy was Conqueror of England. There was something to be said for a system under which a lucky shot could change the ownership of an island. But how absurd to argue that way today! Our modern world rocked over the abyss for four years, nine million fighting men were killed, beside millions of civilians, half the world's wealth went up in smoke, while as yet three generations of unborn people were condemned beforehand to groan under mountainous debts—and for what? By how much did it all succeed, even in crippling Germany, which was its declared objective?

The fact is, man's mastery over machines, and still more over chemical forces is, in the tale of the ages, brand new, and war under these conditions stands condemned as the most stupid and blundering irrelevancy ever perpetrated. Sensible people all the world over now laugh at its pretensions.

Consider again the wealth we spend upon it. In Europe, roughly speaking, half of every nation's resources are spent upon the bills presented by war. Is there anything else upon which we spend so much and from which we gain so little? Suppose you put the money into

education, better housing, the development of industry, the elimination of poverty, what would be the result for mankind? It is our waste that gilds it with a spurious respectability and bluffs us with an appearance of power. It is as if we spent half our wealth to make a cancerous growth seem imposing.

Once again, consider the apparent disorder among nations. It is true that they are in different states of culture. We are often told that we must not expose our civilizations to the menace of "the lesser breeds that have no law." But the truth is the menace of war is in the hands of the Great Powers. Were six or seven of the mightiest nations to really renounce war the terror of it would pass away from the earth. The nations upon the outer fringe of civilization could be easily controlled and will never be dangerous unless we goad them into imitation of our militarism.

What is common to the peoples of all nations, as distinct from their governments, is horror of war and desire to be delivered from its menace.

Here is a situation which pre-eminently calls for the exercise of faith. If there be any truth at all in the famous dictum of Lincoln about "government of the people, by the people, for the people," then war must go.

For my part, I have not the slightest doubt that the war system is doomed. I do not deny its power. I do not dispute the possibility of its dragging the world into yet another catastrophe, but I defy it to ever again cause mankind to believe in it "as an instrument of policy." The war system makes heavier and heavier demands upon men at the very time when their faith in it grows less and less. There is no way of reconciling those two opposite tendencies. War as an institution is as strong as ever, but institutions never yet succeeded in staying when the multitudes had lost faith in them.

The war system may go down as Samson did, dragging the temple down with it, but go down it will. Better that we dispose of it by reason and goodwill than amid the wreckage of the world.

The Paris Pact is likely now to be the law of the civilized world. We

must keep it in its place. What is wanted now is a cluster of statesmen who will dare to treat it as the law and not as a hypothesis. The nation that will first shape its policies in accordance with it will have the moral leadership of the world. That ought to be America or Britain or both. Nothing could be more fatal than to write it upon our statute-books and then nullify it by our pessimism. Better that it had never been written than that should happen.

The Paris Peace Pact is more than a pious aspiration. It definitely legalizes peace and makes war illegal. Some nation will have to break the treaty before war can take place, and that ought to be at least as serious a slap as Germany's abrogation of the Belgian Treaty in 1914.

The Paris Pact should help the Church to clear her mind concerning war. She has never been able in her deepest heart to reconcile it with Christ, but she has been caught in the tangle of conflicting impulses. Christianity strengthens courage, inspires patriotism, the sense of duty, the capacity for self-sacrifice. Hence Christians have always been the mainstay of a country in time of war, but the deepest feelings have always been outraged by it.

Now for the first time in history, the law of civilization in reference to war is compatible with Christianity. The Church has only now to keep the law, to insist that the nation shall keep it. If across the seas the churches can join hands, there need be no conflict of patriotisms, no division of mind as between the claims of Christ and of the State. There is but one issue and it is that in every country the Church must see that the State keeps its own law.

A great nation has never perhaps in the history of the world had so great an opportunity, by virtue of its unprecedented possession both of wealth and of moral influence, to practice with generous altruism the golden rule and law of love toward other nations as has America today. This is America's opportunity to serve mankind and bless the world by giving practical proof that the golden rule and the law of love can be practiced by nations as truly as by individuals.

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1906 at Pittsburgh, Pa. under Act of Congress  
of March 3, 1879.**A Spiritual  
Undergirding**

In the movement to secure World Peace it is important that we labor to reduce national armaments, to secure the signing of peace pacts outlawing war and pledging the nations to peaceable means of settling their difficulties; to set up the international machinery necessary to secure peace among the nations, such as the League of Nations and the World Court of International Justice, to remove national misunderstanding and prejudices which lead to war; to bring to bear motives to overcome the forces which make for war such as the futility of war, the terrible destruction and horror of modern warfare, motives of self-enlightened interest, economic and humanitarian motives.

All this and much else of similar character is good and should have the active support of the friends of World Peace. But all this is insufficient. Without something else, more vital and fundamental, the peace movement will fail. The peace structure we are building today needs a spiritual undergirding. A mighty spiritual dynamic must be supplied to the peace movement to give it the force and power necessary to carry it forward to success.

This dynamic is found in the Gospel of Jesus Christ applied to national life and international relationships. The mighty power of the Gospel has been proved in the sphere of individual life and individual relations. Its ideals of righteousness, service and love have overcome selfishness, pride, jealousy and hatred in the individual life and brought peace and good will in individual relationships where before there had been strife and bloodshed. It has done this because those entrusted with the Gospel believed it was for the individual and brought its power to bear upon individual lives.

What is needed in the peace

movement is that the power of the Gospel shall be brought to bear upon national life and international relationships with the same constancy and faithfulness it has been brought to bear upon individual life and individual relationships.

Jesus is the Savior-King of nations as truly as of men. His ideals and standards of life, His laws of righteousness, service and love, are just as applicable and authoritative in the realm of national life and relationships as in the realm of individual life and relationships. His Gospel has the power to transform the life of a nation as truly as of a man. But to do this it must be proclaimed and applied to nations as continuously and as faithfully as it has been to men. It has not been. Somehow those entrusted with the Gospel have failed to realize it was intended for nations and, consequently, its ideals and standards have not been brought to bear directly upon nations as corporate bodies. To bring the mind and will of a nation into harmony with the will of God as they seek to bring the mind and will of an individual into harmony with His will, has not been an outstanding objective in their efforts. Consequently, this mighty dynamic of our Christianity has not been utilized for world peace. No nation, as such, in the true sense of the term, has been Christianized. In their relations with each other, nations are governed by self-interest rather than service, by fear rather than trust, by force rather than love. This is the fundamental reason why the world is cursed with war. The chief responsibility for the World War must be placed at the door of the Church for her failure to bring the spiritual power of the Gospel to bear upon national life and international relationships.

It is high time for the Church to awake and fulfill her divine commission to "disciple the nations"—to proclaim the Gospel to Uncle Sam and John Bull and all the others, to bring the power of Christian ideals to bear in molding public opinion upon present day international problems. This will give the peace movement the spiritual dynamic it needs today.

Let our spiritual leaders heed the words of Field Marshall Haig: "The Gospel of Christ is the sole hope of World Peace. It is a crusade to which I urge you—a crusade not having for its objective the redemption of a single city, however holy, but the freeing of the whole world from the devastating scourge of war."

**Following Up  
the Victory**

The victory of November 6th was far more than a victory for national Prohibition. It was a victory for national righteousness and true Americanism. It was a victory for morals over partisan politics; for the ideals that dominate in rural America over those that dominate in our large cities; for Christianity, that type of Christianity to which chiefly this nation owes its liberty and freedom.

It was an outstanding victory for national Prohibition. It registered the United States as still unmistakably and strongly for the Eighteenth Amendment and its effective enforcement. It placed its enforcement in the hands of a friend instead of a foe.

The action of the thirty-two organizations, that banded together to demand of the national conventions of the two leading political parties that they take their stand on Prohibition, has been justified. The success of this move thrust Prohibition to the front in the national election. The leaders of these organizations, of which the National Reform Association was one, should have the thanks of the temperance people of the country. Above all they owe gratitude and thanksgiving to Almighty God, to whom national remissness was confessed and whose help was so earnestly sought and so graciously given.

The victory just won should inspire the friends of Prohibition to continue the fight even more vigorously.

Let them keep before the leaders of the Republican administration that they have a mandate from the American people to maintain and enforce the Eighteenth Amendment and will be held strictly to account for doing so. Let them demand of Congress the amending of the Volstead Act to eliminate the weaknesses which now militate against effective enforcement. Let them unitedly and actively support the President-Elect and the administration in the vigorous enforcement of our Prohibition Laws. And above all, as of greatest importance, let them set up and carry forward an adequate educational program on behalf of Prohibition with all the vigor with which they pushed such a program before we had national Prohibition. Let the victory be followed up in all these ways and as time passes it will prove to have been a momentous and overwhelming victory.

# Steady Pressure

**V**IOLENT application of power like dynamite may break age old formations, but it is steady pressure that lifts and shapes and forms things which need developing. Engineers are working at the problem of saving the Leaning Tower of Pisa. You may be sure they will not use dynamite at its foundations. It will be a steady pressure that will restore its equilibrium and so preserve it.

In re-shaping the ideals and policies of the world, so that the world policy henceforth will be pacific rather than militaristic, there is infinite need of "steady pressure in the right direction" as John Hay expressed it when he was Secretary of State. Without hurry or jerk, violence or impatience, the Christians of today should apply the steady pressure of education, appeal, and political activity to this problem, upon at least ten different points.

1. We should work for a policy of progressive disarmament that should aim at the prevention of replacement, rather than scrapping.

2. We should work for our adherence to the Protocol of the World Court upon terms of equality with all other nations.

3. We should work toward securing our entrance to the League of Nations. If the present league is not to our liking we should make reasonable suggestions as to its modification and then stick to our propositions.

4. We should work to secure the abolition of the private traffic in arms and ammunitions of every sort.

5. The treaty for the outlawry of war should be pressed to the point where it is universally accepted as the law of nations.

6. There should be a new definition of the freedom of the seas. This should be developed into an international control of the seas, which should take away from individual nations all right of blockade and make this a matter of international control.

7. There should be developed an international police to clean out the rum rows such as those which form on the Finnish and American coasts, to suppress piracy such as that which recently occurred on the China coast and to do what our marines have been doing in the Caribbean countries.

8. Under proper safeguards, we should commit all that we aim at in the Monroe Doctrine to the World Court.

9. There should be developed an effective international control of the production and traffic in all dangerous, habit-forming narcotic drugs of every type.

10. There should be developed an international system whereby the immigration policy of every nation would be supported by the whole world.

We in America can apply this steady pressure by constant education through the pulpits, the religious press, and by all other means of advocating these courses of action. There need be no time limit set to this course of education. It should be "here a little there a little, line upon line, precept upon precept" until the wisdom and reasonableness of these new policies are apparent to all.

We should use generously yet respectfully both petition and political protest, always being careful never to attempt to put any force back of these actions save that of reason and wisdom. Any church discipline or organized compulsion of public officials will tend to create reaction rather than shape policies.

In our choice of all national officials we can be guided to a considerable extent by their attitude upon this matter of working for world peace. One of the reasons many people have had for voting for Mr. Hoover was that they believed his Quaker ancestry and training fitted him, in a peculiar way, for leadership in this world task.

There should be a constant endeavor to cultivate world-mindedness among all our people. The provincialism which assumes that "we are the people" and all wisdom, energy and righteousness abides in us, needs to be dissolved in a larger knowledge and understanding of other nations and a larger sympathy with their legitimate aspirations.

Then we shall have to find some means, both of protecting and curbing, our irresponsible press. The press should be protected from organized boycott and it should be controlled so that it will tell the truth. At the present time these great chains are so subservient to organized pressure, of a commercial nature, upon their business managers, that upon many subjects they do not dare to publish anything. They have become so utterly disregardful of the idealism and tastes of the Christian, educated elements of the people and so prone to play to the galleries on all racial, moral and

international matters that we are in danger of becoming disturbers of the world peace in spite of our best endeavors. The world at large does not realize that the average American treats these newspapers just as a negro does his mule; just uses the paper for what it can do and laughs at its ear-flopping and kicking. That is our attitude, but the world takes seriously their jingoistic abuse of other nations with whom we may be having even a discussion of international differences. They think we feel that way. Somehow we must make the purveyors of news more responsible to decency, to peaceable ideals, to human needs rather than whims and to progressive ideals rather than to reaction.

In whatever way steady pressure can be applied, it should be applied to every one of these points which need correction in the world policies of all nations. There is need for all to know what should be done, at every point in the program, and then keep a steady pressure in the right direction until it is brought to pass.

## The World Turns Against War

(Continued from page 2)

denmed as tricky diplomacy. Nowhere has it been more mercilessly attacked than in the British press. If our Government, after asking the other governments to renounce war, accompanies its own ratification of the Treaty by increasing its military establishment, this will be regarded universally as showing bad faith on our part, a betrayal of the other signatories.

The task of the American people this winter is therefore plain:

1. We must encourage the President to submit the Pact to the Senate immediately that Congress opens. Letters sent to him on this subject now will show him that the people of our country are behind the Pact.

2. We must urge our Senators to ratify the Pact promptly and without reservation. This will be our task in December. The Pact would be an excellent Christmas present for America to give the world.

3. We must oppose the bill for increasing the Navy whenever it becomes an issue because it is a betrayal of the Pact.

The time was when the promotion of peace was a sentimental and emotional activity. Now each of us can have a definite share in its achievement. It is our most important business.

# International Irritants

By REV. WILLIAM PARSONS, D.D.

**S**OME people irritate us. In their presence all that is belligerant in us is forced to the surface. When this mental reaction is present we simply avoid them if we can, which does not make for either peace, good-fellowship or co-operation. Where we are compelled to associate with them it means the continuous irksomeness of self-repression or continuous bickering leading to periodic quarrels.

Whenever we have taken the trouble to analyze such personalities, to discover just what causes that unfavorable mental reaction we are surprised by the presence of many virtues but they are all negatived by certain irritants. These we usually find to be one or more of the following, egoism, egotism, assumed superiority, proneness to give instruction, unreliability and aggressive acquisitiveness. These qualities isolate people and become, if unrestrained, the irritants provocative of mutual hatreds and frequent quarrels.

It is just so with nations. Great national virtues are not sufficient to preserve or develop world peace. If international irritants are mingled with the virtues, it may be irritants which will establish the status of international relations.

We shall not deal with those which lie in the domain of national characteristics, though that would be a profitable line of thought. Rather we shall deal with those of a concrete nature which may develop from either national characteristics or ignorance and carelessness. There exists in the world today half a dozen of these international irritants, which every nation should busy itself to eliminate from its own body politic, if it desires to live in peace and amity with its neighbors.

One of the worst of these is the tenacious holding to the obligations of citizenship of those who have migrated to other countries and have voluntarily changed their allegiance. It becomes most irritating when an actual temporal sovereignty by forcible means holds to the duties and obligations of citizenship persons who have become citizens of another country.

Another of these irritants is the tolerated exploitation by the citizens of one country of the weakness and vices and disloyalties of the citizens of another country, for commercial gain. These trespasses may take the form of insistence upon the

rights of private engagement in the traffic in arms, munitions, liquor, opium, cocaine and all such commodities within the territory of any or all nations. It may be the winking at smuggling and bootlegging where the traffic is outlawed, or the denial of all obligation to restrain such exploiters beyond their own borders. Until the nations of the earth come to the standard of the Golden Rule in these matters and enforce it upon their own nationals, there will always be present latent causes of war.

The work of Christian Missions in the territories of non-christian nations may become an irritant though the work be done with the very best of motives and intentions. In all such cases the rights and bounds should be fixed by treaties and the Christian nation should never attempt to go beyond those treaty boundaries in protecting its own nationals. There must also be great caution in forcing such treaties upon weaker nations. Such policy may hamper, for the time, missionary operations but when the missionary goes beyond such treaty limits he should do so at his own risk, and never expect protection from his own country.

National habits concerning such treaties often constitute such an irritant. The difficulty which all nations find in securing treaty understandings with the United States because of the inveterate habit of the Senate in multilaterating all treaties by reservations or interpretive amendments, is an example of this sort of irritant. These habits are irritants and lead to considerable illwill if they have never yet led to actual war.

The policy of protecting commercial investments, when followed by any nation, becomes such an irritant. It is one that has been followed too long by several nations. The attempt to make the flag follow the dollar is bound sooner or later to be provocative of war, or the will to war where the power is wanting. This is one of the tentacles of imperialism that should be lopped off by every nation. When a citizen takes his money to another country he ought to assume all risks for its safety; relieve his own government of all responsibility; and depend solely upon the government of the country where he invests his money for its protection. Until that policy becomes universal we shall always have an occasional recurrence of the

Mexican oil and land controversies somewhere in the world and always be likely to be victimized by speculators who seek to involve their country in war to promote their private ends.

One of the worst of these irritants is rigidity and harshness in dealing with racial minorities and linguistic blocks in territory over which a nation exercises sovereignty. Our own racial minorities in Louisiana, New Mexico and our large industrial centers are illustrations of such conditions. No nation of course can allow such minorities to balk its national policies but, unless it is willing to have such public policies become international irritants, it must be flexible, patient and generous to all such minorities, even at a considerable cost.

The claim of the right of self-determination is one of these irritants, perhaps more provocative of internecine war than of international conflicts. It was this that brought on our war with Spain. No one of these irritants is more difficult to deal with than the question of when people of any territory really acquire the right of sovereignty and self-government. If this claim goes to the ultimate length it would break the world up into helpless particles. When a nation cannot govern any portion of its territory without a constant resort to arms, and the cause is the desire of such people for sovereignty, the suzerain should say "go in peace."

If the atmosphere of World Peace is to be created and maintained, every nation must purge its own body of these offensive irritants. One nation cannot do it for another. We can point them out to other nations and ask that they be removed, but if any are present in our own body we must expect the retort "cast out first the beam out of thine own eye; and then shall thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye."

Among the irritants in our national policies that we should at once remove are the tolerated private traffic in arms, the attempts to protect private investments in foreign countries, and our national difficulty in treaty making. If we are conscientious in thus eliminating from our own life all causes of irritation we can with a much freer hand work at the developing of international peace.

# Association Activities

## SIXTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE AND BUSINESS MEETING of the NATIONAL REFORM ASSOCIATION

December 2-3-4-1928

Second Presbyterian Church,  
Eighth Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

### FIRST SESSION

2:00 p. m. Rev. George Taylor, Jr., Ph.D., presiding.

Keynote address, Rev. William Parsons, D.D.

Address—Hon. Charles A. Jordan, Secretary of the Department of Agriculture, Harrisburg, Pa.

"The Sabbath in Pennsylvania—Shall We Maintain It?"

Address—Rev. R. H. Martin, D. D. "The Sabbath at our Nation's Capital."

### SECOND SESSION

2:30 p. m. Women's Meeting

Mrs. J. F. Sloan, former president of the Congress of Women's Clubs of Western Pennsylvania, presiding.

Devotional Exercises, Mrs. Elizabeth J. Gibson, President of the Allegheny County, W.C.T.U.

Mrs. Lulu Loveland Shepard "What the Mormons Are Doing Among Girls in Foreign Countries."

2:30 p. m. Men's Meeting

Mr. James C. Mace, General Secretary of Young Men's Christian Association of Pittsburgh, presiding.

Devotional Exercises.

Prof. J. H. Dickason "National Reform and Young People."

"Following Up the Prohibition Victory."

(a) Educational Program—Rev. John Steele. (b) Enforcement Program—Hon. Louis E. Graham, Legal Advisor to Commander John D. Pennington, Federal Prohibition Administrator.

### THIRD SESSION

8:00 p. m. Rev. George W. Shelton, D. D. presiding.

Devotional Exercises

Address—Dr. Wilbur K. Thomas, Executive Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia, Pa. "The Kellogg Peace Proposals and World Peace."

### Annual Business Meeting

9:30 a. m. In the Chapel.

All who have contributed \$5.00, or more, within the past year, are entitled to participate in this meeting. This is your invitation.

### MONDAY, December 3rd.

### Tuesday, December 4th.

Second Presbyterian Church

After four weeks in the progressive city of Detroit, Michigan, we are overjoyed and most thankful to our Heavenly Father for the hearty cooperation and support we have received from ministers and church workers. The meetings have all been well attended and there is a general awakening since our vital message has been heard in every corner of Detroit and vicinity. We will continue our campaign here until December first.

The new Mormon Church, which is known here as "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints" is nearing completion and will be dedicated early in January. It stands at the corner of Sorrento and Davison Streets and just opposite one of the large public schools. The Mor-

mon lady missionaries have already begun their work among the school children and have started a Non-Mormon Primary. The object of this Primary work is to eventually turn these children into Mormon Sunday School pupils. To counteract this propaganda, one of the Christian Churches of the neighborhood has started a primary on the same day and is reaching the children who might otherwise be led into the Mormon trap.

The reorganized church of Latter Day Saints has five churches and about fifteen hundred members in the Detroit district. Several of their followers have attended my services and have given me a great deal of information about the "Utah Mormons" as they call them.

I had a part in a great luncheon, given at the Masonic Temple, on Law Enforcement at which Mrs. Henry Peabody, national president, gave a most enlightening talk on "Why Women Should Support Herbert Hoover." I followed with a message on "The Present Day Situation." Over twelve hundred women sat at that luncheon and every woman was on fire in her desire to hold fast to Prohibition and, as I write this, we are all praising God for victory at the polls on November sixth. If the enemy wanted a referendum on Prohibition, they certainly got an answer that was good and strong. Enforcement should be easier now since the American citizen has spoken in no uncertain terms.

I have spoken recently at the First District Meeting of the Michigan Methodist Episcopal Home Missionary Society, a large gathering of women from various cities, drawn together to consider and plan for the home missionary work in this state. I was glad to be able to tell them a little about the work in Utah among the Mormons, where for many years, the National Society has been most active in dealing with the problem of Mormonism.

Recently a speech was given over the radio by one of the Mormon leaders and I was struck with some of his statements. He said, "Mormonism, so called, is a distinctive religion. It was not taken out of the Bible. It has come to us from heaven direct. We are not bound by the Old Testament, nor the New Testament, nor by both of them combined." A little further he continued, "a great many of our principles can be found in the teachings of the various Christian Churches. There are certain fundamental principles found in the Bible that are common in all the churches, but on the other hand, there are principles and doctrines connected with our faith which are above and beyond all that which is comprehended in the Christian world." The speaker seemed to be fully convinced as he discussed his subject that Mormonism is "the something" that is now needed to bring about a "unity of faith" and the instrumentality the Lord has provided for promulgating this truth is the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints!

Many will hear such a message as this over the radio and how important it is and how it behoves us as Christians to see that the true message of Jesus Christ is sent out to every home in our land in order that this propaganda may be corrected.

—Lulu Loveland Shepard.

# Our National War Policy

For a century and a quarter the policy of the United States was a policy of peace. It was against militarizing the nation in any respect. While it maintained an army and a navy and the states had their militia, yet all were entirely subordinated to the civil authorities and kept largely from contact with civil life.

During that period the nation became involved in war six times, yet these wars were fought with citizen soldiers and largely by volunteers until the World War. The policy of the nation was a peace policy.

In 1916 there was affected a radical change by the adoption of the National Defense Act. This Act was strengthened by amendments in 1920. It, even with its amendments, looked harmless to most people, because the people left out of the calculation one factor—the aggressiveness of the professional soldier. The policies adopted were first to place the state militia (National Guard) under the tutelage and largely under the control of the War Department. The R.O.T.C. and the C.M.T.C. were established. Military training in High Schools, Colleges and State Universities, as well as private foundations, was placed upon a different basis, all under the direct or

indirect control and partially upon the support of the War Department. In themselves these things might be harmless, but taken together they have become a network of educational and propaganda centers, by means of which the professional soldiers are seeking to popularize the military establishments, which is nothing more or less than militarizing the American mind. They first of all become the basis for appeals for larger appropriations. Then they become the centers of agitation for still larger appropriations for rounding out the plans. This was largely the way Germany began her military career. Under this sort of tutelage our polyglot population will develop a military-mindedness as rapidly as Germany did, unless a stop is put to this new policy.

The extent to which this policy has succeeded can be judged by three things. First, by a comparison between the words of Washington and those of General Upton. Washington said: "Overgrown military establishments are, under any form of government, inauspicious to liberty, and are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty." Major General Upton declared in "The Military Policy of

the United States": "The Anglo-Saxon prejudice" against "standing armies as a dangerous menace to liberty." That has gone largely unchallenged. The second test is, the size of the military establishment that is growing up under this policy. Counting our armed and trained forces, as Europe counts them, we have over 600,000 men in our military establishment and more or less under the control of the War and Navy Departments. This number is increasing at somewhere over 20,000 a year. The third test is, the Executive may "draft into the military service of the United States" any or all members of the National Guard whenever Congress authorizes the use of armed forces in excess of the regular army. Usage is thus modifying the Constitution in its war making provisions as well as in other directions. To these might be added a fourth test, the persistency with which big naval and army appropriations and programs are urged upon Congress in order that we "may be second to none" on land, sea or in the air.

One of the important steps in the promotion of world peace is the curbing or reversal of this national military policy.

## The Economic Implications of War

By Roger W. Babson

The cost of American wars up to date, amounting to \$44,000,000,000, means little of itself. Furthermore, the annual figure in the United States of \$3,000,000,000 for war is not readily comprehended. On the other hand, when one realizes that we spend only \$1,300,000,000 per year on highway work and only \$2,000,000,000 on schools, then the true meaning of these figures is apparent. In other words, if this money which is now being spent annually, directly and indirectly, for war in the United States were spent for other uses, we could build three times as many new roads each year or maintain more than twice as many schools or we could double our shipping and canal property, multiply our telephone systems by two, buy twice our present stocks of imported merchandise, and increase our supplies of mineral products three times.

We must also appraise the intangible costs. Let me emphasize the

fact that these moral and ethical factors must be reckoned just as much in the case of ordinary commercial or financial investment as in the case of war. Here are some of the intangible but prohibitive costs of war.

1. War is a terrible misuse of the emotions. It means the perversion of the nobler emotions, the stimulus of the baser emotions, and the utter waste of all emotions.

2. The after effects or carry-over of war are (1) crime waves such as we have experienced as an aftermath of the World War, and (2) excess of unfit children due to the killing of the most fit who would otherwise be fathers.

3. War is the negation and nullification of Democracy because war expresses the will of the minority who impose it upon the majority by force.

4. War is the practical realization of anarchy, and is the basic cause of the present waves of Bolshevism and Communism.

5. War is the overthrowing of justice, since the sufferings and punishment of the innocent exceed that of the guilty.

6. War is the antithesis of truth, mercy, and love; the complete refutation of the teachings of Jesus. It is the violation of the Ten Commandments and the nine Beatitudes.

## The Book You Want

"Between War and Peace" is a book of about 600 pages, just off the press. Written by Florence Brewer Boeckel, Education Director of the National Council for Prevention of War. She not only has given a great deal of information not available in any other single volume, but has given us this information in a style that is easily read and exceptionally interesting. As a *Peace Worker's Handbook* it has no equal today. It is full of practical suggestions as to how an individual or group in any community may work towards the prevention of war. It contains unrivaled bibliographies on various phases of the peace movement. You need this book. Price \$2.00, postpaid. Address the National Council for Prevention of War, 532 Seventeenth St., N. W., Washington, D. C.